

June 1958

SOCIAL PROGRESS

*A Primer on
International Affairs*

SOCIAL PROGRESS

Published by the Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., to provide a forum for the church on subjects of social concern for Christians. It includes program resources, legislative developments, and guides to worship, study, and action for leaders of social action groups in local churches, presbyteries, synods, presbyterially, and synodical societies. Articles represent the opinions of the authors—not the official policy of the Department of Social Education and Action of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

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Department of Social Education and Action: Clifford Earle, Margaret E. Kuhn, H. B. Sissel, Gayraud S. Wilmore, Jr.; Helen H. Harder (Editorial Assistant), Helen Lineweaver (Director of Washington Office). Editorial correspondence should be addressed to Clifford Earle, Secretary and Editor.

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From This Vantage Point

IN THE merging of the United Presbyterian Church of North America and the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., two fine traditions of Christian social concern come together.

SOCIAL PROGRESS will continue as a handbook for the consideration of social questions in the light of the Christian imperative that "justice and love should have full expression in all relationships whatsoever—personal, industrial, business, civic, national, international." On July 1 the social education departments of the two merging churches will be functioning as a single unit. Howard Maxwell, able director of the Department of Temperance and Social Education of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, becomes an Associate Secretary of the new Department of Social Education and Action, along with Margaret Kuhn, H. B. Sissel, and Gayraud Wilmore, who have been associated with the program in the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.



This is the first of two issues of SOCIAL PROGRESS which deal with some of the crucial aspects of present-day international relations.

In this issue (June) we consider (1) the world-wide population explosion, (2) the critical question of foreign trade, (3) the looming crisis in economic aid and technical assistance, (4) the role of the United Nations, (5) the tragic problem of refugees, and (6) the dangerous impasse in disarmament negotiations.

The discussion of key questions in foreign affairs will continue in the next issue (July), which will include reports from several of the newly developing areas of the world.

To make possible the publication of these two issues of SOCIAL PROGRESS as a social education venture of the new united Presbyterian Church, the May issue of the magazine was suspended.



World affairs are a vital concern of Christians who believe that God is acting in the affairs of men and nations and that his judgment and mercy are revealed in the events of our times.

We recognize the essential unity and interdependence of the human family. At the same time we see in man an awesome capacity for both good and evil. With advancing technology, this has implications that are at once ominous and glorious.

As Christians, we admit and confess our involvement in the disobedience of our age. Even so, perhaps all the more, we are able to be both loyal to and critical of the institutions and policies of our Government in international relations.



The church has a unique role in world affairs—(1) to discern and interpret the mighty acts of God among the nations, (2) to remind men in places of power and influence of their accountability to God to seek justice for all, (3) to reveal to men their true nature and destiny as children of God and to remind them of both their powers and their limitations, (4) to give expression to the universal yearning of all men for justice and freedom, (5) to be the surrogate of the afflicted and oppressed who have no spokesmen or lobbyists in places of authority and decision, (6) to condemn the human folly that builds weapons of mass destruction and that threatens to despoil the earth's riches and to destroy our civilization, (7) to encourage and support the instruments and policies of government that advance God's purposes in the world.



We trust that these pages will encourage many churchmen who have been on the side lines in the struggle for justice and freedom to see that international affairs are indeed their affairs and that Christians everywhere are called to work and pray without ceasing for the peace and wholeness of our broken world.

CLIFFORD EARLE

Secretary

The Problem of

POPULATION

THE WRITER of a geography published in 1835 did a bit of guessing about the world's population and came up with the figure of 730 million. There are now about 2.75 billion people in the world.

Between the birth of Christ and the beginning of the modern era, 1650, it is likely that the population of the world increased at a rate of about 5 per cent *per century*. During the last one hundred years, the increase has been something like 300 per cent. The rate now is nearly 2 per cent per year. We are in the midst of a world-wide population explosion.

If the rate of increase of the last century had started when Christ was born, for every person now living there would be about 1,000,000 persons on our planet.

Recent population studies conclude that in the next fifty years the increase will be something like 250 per cent. We are moving rapidly into an era of unimagined problems relating to population control, living space, and food.

Dr. Pascal Whelpton of the Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, a leading authority in the field, estimated in 1956 that the world's population could boom to 5.5 billion in the year 2000.

The estimate has been revised upward following recent population studies by the United Nations. The estimate now is that in the year of our Lord 2000 there will be between 6.2 and 6.9 billion people on this earth.

India's population, now just under 400 million, will in A.D. 2000 reach one billion. India and China

together will have a population forty-two years from now equivalent to the world's population in 1945.

The world's population at present is about one-third "white" and two-thirds "colored."

Between now and the year 2000, the "colored" population will increase 170 per cent, while the increase in the "white" segment of the planet's people will be only 63 per cent. This means that forty years from now the world's population will be 21 per cent "white" and 79 per cent "colored."

Right now the "colored" people of

the world outnumber the "white" part of the population by a ratio of two to one. In the year 2000, the ratio will be almost four to one.

May these facts go deep into the consciousness of the "white" people of our country and other countries (the Union of South Africa, for example) who are afflicted with the sickness of racial arrogance.

Generally, population growth is not due to an increase in fertility rate, but to a decrease in the death rate. When people live longer, the population goes up accordingly.

Famine and disease have been the great deterrents to population growth. Wars have been a factor, a great factor in countries overrun by war, but on the whole the other two scourges, disease and famine, have had the greatest effect.

In modern times, economic depression has produced notable reductions in birth rates. It is evident now, however, that the effect of depression is mostly temporary. Families defer having children until they can afford them. Hence the "baby boom" in the United States in the war-prosperous 1940's as compared with the depression years of the 1930's.

In fact, the birth rates from year to year are not a good clue to what is happening with respect to population growth. A much better index is the number of births per woman during her child-bearing period. For comparisons, the women of the population are grouped in what the population specialists call "cohorts," according to the years in which they were born. The data must be related,

of course, to the annual death rates to give the full picture.

Health programs in regions where the death rate, due to disease, has been high are bound to contribute significantly to the growth of population. The present world-wide campaigns to eliminate malaria and to reduce to a minimum the incidence of yaws, two rampant debilitating diseases of the tropics, will have their repercussions. Another factor of vast importance is the improvement of maternal and child-care facilities, with the result that infant mortality is greatly reduced.

It is significant that the lowering of mortality rates in the less-developed areas of the world results in their having exceptionally young populations. This comes about because most of the reduction, especially when the death rate has been high, occurs among infants and children. The advanced countries have between 2.5 and 3.5 people aged 15 or over for each child under 15. In the less-developed lands the ratio is between 1.2 and 1.8.

Population increases in many of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are so high that in spite of prodigious economic development and climbing standards of living, the "gap" between these countries and the industrialized countries of the West is increasing rather than diminishing. This is particularly true when the comparison is between the United States and almost any one of the newly developing nations.

In Egypt, for example, population has grown from 15 million in 1928 to nearly 24 million at the present time. The gain in the last decade has been 26 per cent. Through irriga-

tion, the area of productive land has greatly increased, but only one third as rapidly as the population. New areas are overcrowded as fast as they are opened up, and the problem deepens year after year. Even such projects as the proposed Aswan Dam are not solutions, but temporary stopgaps. This almost hopeless domestic situation goes far to explain the behavior of Egypt's Government in Middle East politics.

In these pages we can do no more than "open up" the mounting world problem of population.

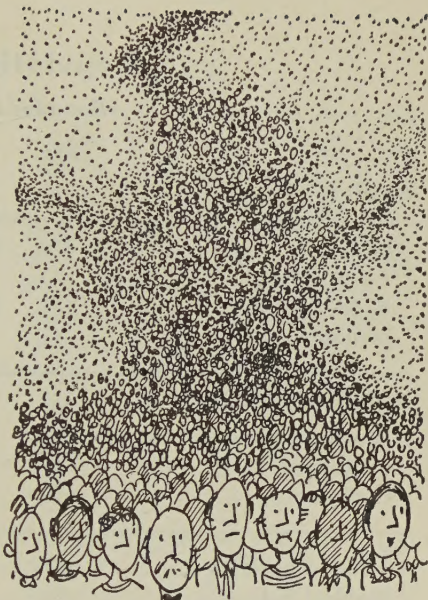
A few years ago the "experts" were considerably worried about the possibility that the earth could not be coaxed or made to produce enough food to nourish even our present population. The issue was ably presented in *Road to Survival*, by William Vogt (an authority on conservation and land usage), published in 1948.

The problem is still considered to be a serious one, but modern agronomists believe that it is not insurmountable. This old planet has almost infinite capacity to feed mankind, if only we have the wit and devise the co-operative means to treat it kindly and use it well.

It may mean, to be sure, that man will have to go vegetarian in a few decades. They say that it takes about nine times as much land area to produce food by the "meat" route as by the "grain" route.

There are many hard questions relating to the dangerous era of population expansion into which we are now moving.

How many people can the planet



support? And when we say "support," what standard of living do we have in mind? When will the world's population reach the limit? What should we do when we reach the limit?

If these questions are premature by a couple of centuries, let us ask some others that apply to the decades immediately ahead. Is it not time for mankind to think deeply and seriously about the need for population limitation through birth control, especially in the countries now burdened with high birth rates? Must there not be a vast international program for moving large numbers of people from the highly populated regions to areas with excessive living room? With the "color" ratio going the way it is, it is all the more important that racial segregation in its every vicious aspect be eliminated from the face of the earth, absolutely and forever.

Population Table

(Rounded to millions)

	1955	1965	1975	2000
WORLD TOTAL	2,690	3,180	3,830—3,860	6,280—6,900
AFRICA	216	256— 263	303— 331	517— 663
North Africa	47	59	76	147— 162
Middle Africa	154	177— 185	202— 230	323— 449
Southern Africa	15	19	24	47— 52
NORTH AMERICA	240	286	339	510— 544
Northern America	182	210	240	312— 326
Central America	40	54	72	150— 166
Caribbean	18	22	27	48— 53
SOUTH AMERICA	125	158	204	394— 432
Tropical S.A.	95	122	163	339— 374
Temperate S.A.	30	36	42	56— 58
ASIA	1,490	1,780	2,210	3,870—4,250
Southwest Asia	72	91	116	206— 227
Central South Asia	499	595	737	1,310—1,440
Southeast Asia	186	225	280	498— 548
East Asia (except Japan)	641	771	958	1,700—1,870
Japan and Ryukyus	90	103	117	153— 159
EUROPE	409	440	476	568— 592
Northern and Western Europe	137	144	154	180— 187
Central Europe	134	145	156	183— 191
Southern Europe	138	151	166	206— 214
OCEANIA	15	18	21	29— 30
Australia and New Zealand	12	14	16	21— 22
Pacific Islands	3	4	5	9
U.S.S.R.	197	234	275	379— 395

This table is an unofficial condensation of estimates to be published in a forthcoming UN Secretariat study.

Notes on Population Estimates

1. The chart is presented here through the courtesy of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs. It is related to a recent population study made by the United Nations. The chart is based on new or improved data, new analyses of postwar trends, and better estimating techniques.

2. The focus is on regions, the estimates of which are regarded as more reliable than from individual countries. The reliability of estimates after 1975 decreases rapidly—those for particular countries even more so. Continental and world totals are said to merit more reliance than subordinate estimates for regions and countries, because in larger areas some errors will cancel out others.

3. An example of this sort of phenomenon which severely qualifies any particular projection is the extraordinary fall in the fertility rate in Japan from 30.3 per 1,000 in 1947, to 18.4 in 1956.

4. The basic assumption on which the estimates are built is that the present decline in the mortality rate will continue at a tempo that presently seems normal. The idea is that future conditions for progress in health and sanitation will be no worse than they are at present. With

this general assumption three projections are made: a "high" estimate on the assumption that fertility rates will remain unchanged until 2000; a "medium" estimate on the assumption that they will decline after 1975; and a "low" estimate on assumption that they will decline immediately—the UN study discounts the "low" estimate, pointing out that fertility declines do not generally appear to be imminent. Consequently the "low" figures are omitted from the chart.

5. In an ever-increasing segment of the world's population, where until recently only about one half of all newborn children survived to adulthood, their chance of living to adult years now surpasses 90 per cent. The combination of birth rates near 45 per 1,000 with death rates near 10 per 1,000 have been reliably recorded in several countries, resulting in an annual natural increase of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. At this rate a population doubles in 20 years and increases ten times in 67 years, a rate of growth which certainly cannot continue very long in any country.

6. The data assumes a continuation of trends now discernible for the majority of the world's population. If, as seems likely, medical and public health progress accelerates, the picture for the next forty years becomes even more fantastic.



ECONOMIC AID and

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

PROGRAMS of economic aid and technical assistance have become an important and, we believe, a permanent feature of international relations. They are a kind of international co-operation essential to the attainment of real peace in the modern world.

Ostensibly and at their best these programs are designed to help less-developed nations "to help themselves" achieve economic strength and higher standards of living for their people. The more advanced countries gain, however, as well as the countries on the receiving end of the assistance programs—mainly through the development of new markets for both capital and consumer goods produced in the West, and the enhancement of world trade. Hence the justification for such phrases as "economic co-operation" and "mutual aid" (rather than "giveaway") in reference to international assistance programs.

•
SINCE MID-1945, the United States has expended \$60 billion in "foreign aid." In the past, however, these programs have not been aimed at aiding the growth of the world's less-developed lands.

The main goals have been (1) the relief of acute distress in war-damaged areas, (2) the rehabilitation of Europe under the Marshall Plan, (3) the military undergirding of our allies in Europe, the Middle East, and Asia.

Of the \$60 billion expended, 68 per cent has been for economic assistance, 32 per cent for military help. Europe received two thirds of the amount spent for economic aid, mainly under the Marshall Plan, while another industrialized area, Japan, received 5 per cent.

The remaining \$11 billion went to the less-developed countries—one third for relief in devastated areas, one third for economic assistance in

the countries with which we have large-scale military alliances (Greece, Indo-China, Korea, Pakistan, the Philippines, Taiwan [Formosa], and Turkey), and one third (only) for assistance to some fifty other nations in the underdeveloped two thirds of the free world.

Thus, 12 per cent of the huge sum spent so far in American "foreign aid" has been directed to the economic growth of the less-developed areas—6 per cent to the favored

"military alliance" countries, 6 per cent for the rest of the free world.

IN THE 1959 "asking budget" for the mutual security program, an enlarged but still small share is earmarked for the less-developed lands. The total amount sought by the President is \$3,192,100,000. This is 5.3 per cent of the national budget for 1959. The breakdown is as follows:

Mutual defense programs (66.9 per cent)	\$2,635,000,000
Military assistance (weapons, equipment, supplies, bases, training)	\$1,800,000,000
Defense support (economic aid to key allies, mostly in Far East and Pacific region, unable otherwise to support adequate defense programs)	835,000,000
Economic assistance (20 per cent)	\$ 788,500,000
Development Loan Fund (to provide loans for financing specific development programs in less-developed countries; plan approved by Congress in 1957)	\$625,000,000
Technical co-operation (including \$142,000,000 for the U.S. bilateral program, \$20,000,000 for the UN program of technical assistance, \$1,500,000 for aid programs in Latin America under the Organization of American States)	163,500,000
Undesignated items (10.4 per cent)	\$ 412,000,000
Special assistance (strategic programs not falling in other categories, such as aid to Jordan and Morocco, and support of 5-year WHO project to stamp out malaria)	\$212,000,000
Contingencies (unanticipated emergencies of economic, political, or humanitarian nature)	200,000,000
Other programs (1.7 per cent)	\$ 66,900,000
United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF— the U.S. share of the budget of this important program for 1959)	\$11,000,000

The Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (organized in 1952 on U.S. initiative, aids in movement of persons from overpopulated countries of Europe)	12,500,000
United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees serving the minimal daily needs of Arab refugees	25,000,000
Atoms for Peace (to assist friendly nations in developing atomic energy)	5,500,000
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (a continuing need)	1,200,000
United States Escapee Program (to aid "escapees" from communist countries)	8,600,000
Ocean freight charges (to cover shipping costs of relief supplies by voluntary agencies such as Church World Service)	2,100,000
Control Act expenses (to administer laws controlling exports to communist countries)	1,000,000
Administrative costs (1 per cent)	\$ 39,700,000
International Co-operation Administration	\$33,000,000
Department of State	6,700,000

The mutual security bill being considered by the House of Representatives calls for \$339 million less than the President proposed. The recommended reductions were in military assistance (\$160 million), defense support (\$60 million), and special assistance and contingencies (\$127 million). The House bill augments the technical aid program by \$8 million.

THE COMMUNIST economic drive to win the support of the free world has brought a new urgency into American-supported programs of economic aid and technical assistance. The size and seriousness of the communist challenge is only now becoming apparent.

The Sino-Soviet bloc in the last two years has made grants and loans to underdeveloped countries outside the bloc of some \$2 billion. The communist powers have been extending credit on much better terms than are generally available from the West—with interest rates of only 2 or 2.5 per cent. This aid, covering both military and economic needs, has been given primarily to key

areas—Afghanistan, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Syria.

The communists have sent more than 2,000 technicians to nine of the newly developing countries. Comparable personnel from the United States in these countries number less than 1,000. The communist experts are well trained—not only in their fields of competence, but also in the language, history, and customs of the people among whom they expect to serve for a long time. American technical experts generally have short-term assignments. Only rarely do they come into a country with a working knowledge of the language—a handicap of the first order.

In 1957, the communists brought

more than 2,000 trainees to Moscow, Prague, and Peiping for technical training.

In their appeal to the countries of Asia and the Middle East, the communist leaders have a number of factors in their favor. For example, they can use the cities, schools, factories, laboratories, farms of the U.S.S.R. as show places. They can point to great strides in economic and technical development, to higher standards of living (relatively speaking), to evidences that they have solved many of the problems with which Asia is still struggling. And they can say that all this has happened in forty years. Europe and America, of course, have as much, and much more, to show, but to many Asians they are a world apart. We can be sure that the Soviet and Chinese leaders are making the most of these advantages in selling communism to the people of Asia and the Middle East who are yearning for strength and status and who sometimes forget the penalty for taking short cuts.

It is the considered judgment of many observers in the West, people who are in daily touch with world events, that the Soviet-Chinese bid to win the uncommitted areas by methods of economic penetration and internal subversion is far more dangerous than communist missiles or military man power. This is the hot war, they say, and we could lose it in the underdeveloped lands by failing in our programs of economic aid and technical assistance.

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OUR CONCERN as Christians with programs of economic and technical assistance, however, goes beyond the

anxious issues of security in a divided world.

The 1957 General Assembly of the National Council of Churches declared:

"As Christians, we feel compelled to give our special support to the further development of foreign economic policies of the United States which will reflect our interest in man's welfare in other countries as well as in our own. We believe that constructive policies of international aid and trade are essential to the creation of conditions of peace with justice and freedom."

In addressing a citizen's conference on the mutual aid program in February, 1958, President Eisenhower said:

"If we are to find the world we seek, we must catch the vision of the neighborhood of the world. When we have done this, all such measures as mutual security will seem as natural and logical as our activities for community prosperity, health, and education."

At the same significant meeting, Adlai Stevenson stated:

"So long as a billion people in this shrinking world see no hope of fulfilling their impatient demands for a better life, the threat of disorder, desperate measures, and dictatorship remain, and there can be no real hope for secure peace. . . . What kind of world will it be? . . . I am deeply convinced that the outcome depends on what the Governments and peoples of the industrialized world do now—over the next decade—not on what is done a half century from now."

FOREIGN TRADE

Two-Way Road to Peace

SOME people who know their way around in international affairs say that the most urgent foreign policy issue before the United States is the issue of tariffs and trade.

The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, first approved by Congress in 1934 and renewed ten times since then, expires at the end of June of this year.

Under the trade agreements program, Congress empowers the President to negotiate agreements with other countries for mutually beneficial reductions of trade barriers. At first this was done one country at a time. In 1947 it became possible for our Government to engage in multilateral negotiations—that is, with several countries at once. This program is the backbone of our foreign economic policy.

If the present Congress fails to renew the program because of strong pressure from a few industries seeking special privilege in the form of protection from foreign competition, the damage done, both actual and psychological, will negate much of the good accomplished through foreign aid in recent years.

On the economic front (as we have said in our comments on technical assistance) the cold war is becoming very warm. A few months ago, Nikita Khrushchev uttered this warning: "We declare war upon you—excuse me for using such an expression—in the peaceful field of trade. We declare a war we will win over the United States. The threat

to the United States is not the ICBM, but in the field of peaceful production. We are relentless in this and it will prove the superiority of our system."

The chief objective in the war of trade is the potentially vast markets of the newly developing areas of the world. Most of the eighteen new nations created since World War II

are strategically located in Asia and Africa. In order to develop viable economies and to improve the living standards of their citizens, they need desperately and immediately to negotiate long-term trade arrangements with other nations.

If these countries are unable to work out normal trade relationships with the industrialized nations of the free world, they will virtually be forced to come to terms with the communist bloc.

To a large degree, the outcome rests on what our country does now with respect to the trade agreements program.

The churches see the importance of the issue of foreign trade. In their concern they go beyond the considerations of the cold-hot war to those of human welfare and peace.

The General Assembly of the National Council of Churches, meeting in St. Louis in late 1957, approved a pronouncement on foreign economic policy which includes the following key sentences:

"As Christians we feel impelled to give our special support to the further development of foreign economic policies of the United States that will reflect our interest in man's welfare in other countries as well as in our own. We believe that constructive policies of international . . . trade are essential to the creation of conditions of peace with justice and freedom.

"The natural wealth of the world and the capacity to transform raw materials into desirable

goods are not evenly distributed among nations. Our own country is richly endowed and highly developed. Some countries may be able to produce many commodities efficiently but have serious shortages in other essentials. . . .

"Trade in goods and services as a co-operative effort benefits both buyer and seller. On the basis of the principle of mutuality, in our own interest and in that of our neighbors, our economic foreign policies should seek expansion of trade. We believe that encouragement should be given industry to expand its international trade by constructive Governmental policies. . . .

"There will be specific benefit to our national economy because of policies that will increase trade, but, even more, we urge such policies because they can be of much greater benefit to other countries more dependent on trade. Most of all, we support such policies because they represent an important element in the construction of international co-operation which is so essential to building a world of more justice, brotherhood, and peace."

Speaking to the specific issue of the trade agreements program, the National Council of Churches' statement declared:

"As a means of lowering barriers to trade, we support the principle of Reciprocal Trade Agreements. We hope this program will be extended for at least another five years without weakening amendments. We urge that in its

provision and operation there be less emphasis on reinforcing trade barriers and more on expanding trade."

Foreign trade is a much larger factor in the American economy than many people have realized.

For example, over 4½ million wage earners (about 7 per cent of our entire labor force) owe their jobs to trade. If trade should stop, they would be without work.

Consider some of the facts about American exports:

- In recent years, 5 per cent of our national income comes from the sale of American goods in other countries.

- Nearly 10 per cent of our total production of movable goods is sold abroad.

- We export between one fifth and one third of our total production of civilian aircraft, railroad cars, textile machinery, sewing machines, steel, and rolling mill machinery.

- We export 25 per cent of our construction and mining equipment, 19 per cent of our motor trucks and buses, 16 per cent of our diesel engines, 14 per cent of our agricultural machinery, and 11 per cent of our machine tools.

- The food and fiber production of an estimated 60 million acres of American farm land is sold abroad. We export between 20 and 40 per cent of our rye, barley, grain sorghums, soybeans, leaf tobacco, calf skins, fats and oils, cottonseed, dried fruits, condensed and dried milk.

We export more than half our wheat, rice, and cotton.

- These agricultural products account for about 20 per cent of our total exports. They provide about one eighth of our total farm income.

- More than 10 per cent of our coal is sold abroad.

- American exports of goods and services are larger in value than all our consumer purchases of autos and auto parts. They are worth more than all nonfarm housing construction.

Now look at the import side of the foreign trade picture. Here are a few of the facts:

- About 60 per cent of America's imports are neither foods nor manufactured goods. They are raw materials essential to our industries.

- Of all the raw materials used in the United States, about 10 per cent are imported from other countries.

- For many important products and materials we are partly or wholly dependent upon other countries—

<i>Product</i>	<i>Per Cent Imported</i>
coffee	100
industrial diamonds	100
natural graphite	100
natural quartz	100
tea	100
asbestos	95
nickel	92.3
chrome ore	89.6
tin	82
manganese	81.5
tungsten	80.3
apparel wool	79.1
cobalt	78.5

Product	Per Cent Imported
bauxite (aluminum ore)	57.9
antimony	43.5
lead	36.8
fluorspar	35.2
zinc	33.1
gypsum	27.9
copper	17.4
crude petroleum	6.5
iron ore	5.5

The United States has a greater stake in world trade than any other country. Of all the goods "imported" by other countries, 20 per cent come from the United States. And 15 per cent of all goods "exported" by other lands come to the United States.

Trade agreements with other nations, resulting in a lowering of tariffs on selected items imported by this country from those nations and matched on their part by a lowering of tariff barriers on specified goods imported from the United States, work to the advantage both of the American consumers of the imported items and of the American producers of the items favored for export.

At the same time, the agreements sometimes work to the disadvantage of the American producers of the goods on which import tariffs are lowered. Resistance to the trade agreements program comes generally from the most adversely affected segments of the American economy.

Here the wide outlook and the long view come into play. The program must be seen in terms of national (rather than sectional) interest and ultimate (rather than temporary) results in the total economy.

Even so, the plight of industries to which the program brings temporary hardship must be considered. The proposals now before Congress provide for assistance to enterprises, communities, and workers where such aid is needed to help them adapt their resources and skills to other forms of economic activity.

Concerning this problem, the National Council of Churches' statement says:

"While advocating the strengthening and extension of the reciprocal trade system, we are aware that some agreements may have certain local adverse effects. We hold, therefore, that as our Government adopts measures to strengthen international trade, it should also approve programs of special assistance to areas, industries, and people adversely affected, to aid them in adjusting to the new conditions brought about in efforts for the larger good in an interdependent world."

There is a new and very important reason for extending the trade agreements program for at least another five years.

In January, 1959, the treaty establishing the European Economic Community will come into force. Six industrialized countries of Europe (Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg) will then be committed to setting up a European Common Market as a major step toward the full integration of their economic systems.

One of the goals of the European Economic Community will be the

establishment of a common tariff system for the six participating countries. This will require a series of negotiations with other countries, including the United States as the world's biggest trader, which will certainly take several years to complete.

Any limitation of the Government's power to transact trade agreements in this critical period would certainly not serve our national interest or advance the cause of freedom in the world.

A word is in order about an international approach to tariffs and trade called GATT. The letters stand for the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which came into being in 1947 and now has 37 affiliated nations (accounting for more than 80 per cent of the world's trade).

Just as the reciprocal program is the chief domestic instrument of our foreign trade policy, so GATT is the principal international instrument.

GATT has two main parts. First, it consists of long lists of import tariff rates which the member nations, in five bargaining sessions, have either reduced or agreed not to increase. The list covers about 60,000 items at present, representing about \$40 billion worth of trade a year. Secondly, it includes a set of ground rules for fair trade based on the principle of nondiscriminatory competition in the international market.

The shortcoming of GATT is that

it is not an organization. It is administered largely through an occasional meeting of representatives of all contracting parties. That is why the United States, in 1954, proposed the erection of the Organization for Trade Cooperation (as a specialized agency of the United Nations) to provide international machinery for the efficient and orderly administration of the reciprocal trade agreements system.

The OTC cannot come into existence until it has been accepted by countries having 85 per cent of the trade of the group of nations related to GATT. Because our country alone has more than 20 per cent, the organization will continue to be no more than a dream until we ratify it. This Congress has failed to do in spite of annual White House urging.

A useful exercise for any group of citizens (in a church or elsewhere) would be to discover the extent to which the local community depends on foreign trade for both imports (from what countries) and exports (to what foreign markets).

A few phone calls to key persons in local industries and business enterprises, as well as to organizations such as the chamber of commerce or the farm bureau and to public officials, would dramatize the fact that in terms of economic relations every American community is part of a world-wide neighborhood and that we are bound in one bundle of life with the people of many lands.

THE UNITED NATIONS

Our Best Hope for Peace

THE EMERGENCE of the United Nations as a working instrument for peace and social progress is a major accomplishment of our time. Now in its thirteenth year, the UN has attained such acceptance and status that it is a factor in practically all aspects of present-day international relations.

The purposes of the United Nations are eloquently stated in the preamble of the Charter. They may be generalized as follows: (1) to maintain international peace and security; (2) to develop friendly relations among nations; (3) to co-operate with the nations in solving international economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian problems, and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; and (4) to be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in striving for these common goals. The purposes have to do essentially with *peace* ("to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war") and *human welfare* ("to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom").

It is important to see that the United Nations is not a supergovernment, but an arrangement by which the nations can meet, talk, plan, and work together in the interests of peace and progress. It has no authority above or beyond that of the individual member nations (although in dealing with many international needs and problems, the nations can and do assign primary responsibility, with power, to the United Nations). Without this realistic understanding of the nature and authority of the United Nations it is quite impossible to evaluate fairly its work or to measure its effectiveness.

IN SPITE of its limited power, the United Nations has made a record of solid accomplishment both in keeping the peace and in advancing human welfare.

In maintaining peace, the UN (to mention a few of its major actions)

—Played a large role in the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Iran in 1946.

—Helped to bring to an end the communist war in Greece.

—Rolled back the Chinese communist aggression in Korea.

—Brought about a truce between India and Pakistan in the Kashmir dispute.

—Avoided a major war in the Suez crisis by bringing the pressure of world opinion to bear for a quick end to hostilities.

—Condemned the Soviet Union's invasion of Hungary and revealed its harsh repression of the Hungarian people's efforts to achieve freedom.

—Cleared the Suez Canal and reopened it to the commerce of the world.

—Maintained a forum for the discussion and resolution of disagreements between nations, disagreements which otherwise could have developed into serious tensions and conflicts.

In its function of serving human welfare, the United Nations

—Has fought poverty, hunger, disease, and ignorance in many lands in order to improve the general well-being of mankind and to remove some of the fundamental causes of war.

—Provided care for millions of refugees.

—Developed such programs as the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) for dealing with special problems in the underdeveloped areas of the world.

—Created an international agency for the peaceful development of atomic energy.

—Encouraged and guided the development of nonself-governing

areas toward nationhood and responsible participation in the family of nations.

A FURTHER word is in order about the work of the United Nations in the social and economic fields. The collective conscience of mankind has found increasing expression through the United Nations' programs to alleviate poverty afflicting well over half of humanity and to advance fundamental human rights among all people.

International technical assistance programs sponsored by the United Nations have made possible a sharing of knowledge and skills to everybody's advantage. More than 125 countries and territories have been given assistance. Some six thousand experts, drawn from eighty different countries, have participated. In addition more than fourteen thousand key persons from some one hundred countries have been awarded fellowships and scholarships for technical training abroad.

The United Nations has provided ways by which large sums of money can be advanced, as loans and credits, to less-developed countries where resources are inadequate for economic growth.

A concerted program of action has been initiated by the United Nations (and the specialized agencies related to it) to deal with such diverse social needs in the newly developing lands as community improvement in rural areas, adjustments that go hand in hand with industrial growth, low-cost housing in the burgeoning cities, the training of social welfare personnel, better health and nutri-

tion, extension of education, improvement of labor standards, and other problems related to population growth and rapid urbanization.

International care and protection is being provided by the United Nations to at least three million refugees in the Middle East, in Korea, and elsewhere in the world.

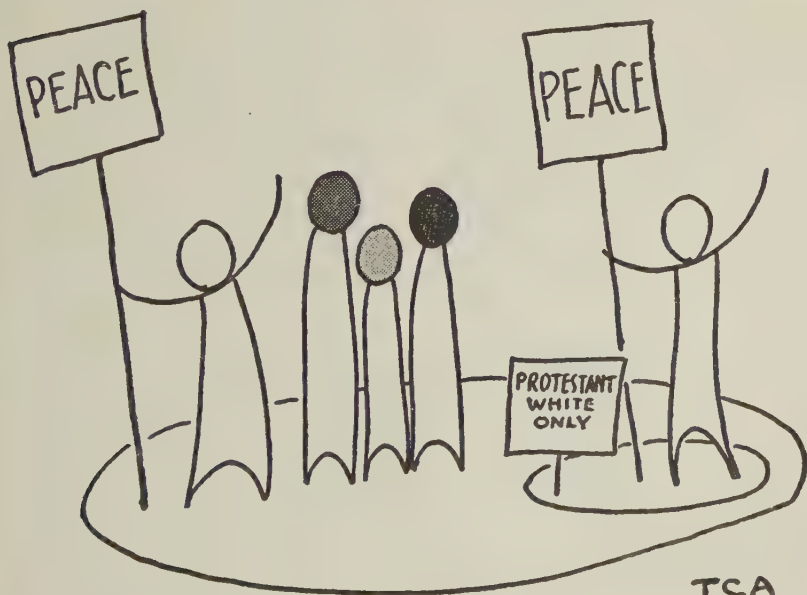
One of the most dramatic and useful international programs ever conceived is the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), which provides supplies, equipment, and technical training for the care of millions of children and mothers in 101 countries and territories.

In December of this year, the free nations of the world will join in celebrating the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the first international definition of the basic rights and fundamental freedoms of man. The United Nations is also

working on such issues as the status of women, the protection of minorities, and freedom of information.

A special concern of the United Nations is the welfare and progress of people in dependent territories. More than 18 million live in territories administered under the International Trusteeship System. Another 145 million live in nonself-governing territories assigned to the supervision of various member nations. In both groups, the objective is the preparation of the people for self-government and independence.

In another important field, the development of international law to govern the relations between the nations, progress has been agonizingly slow. Yet the United Nations has made significant contributions toward enlarging the rule of law to meet both the facts of international life and the interests of the various nations. The International Court of



The Specialized Agencies of the United Nations

International Labor Organization
**Food and Agriculture Organization
of the United Nations**
**United Nations Educational, Scientific
and Cultural Organization**
World Health Organization
**International Bank for Reconstruc-
tion and Development**
International Finance Corporation
International Monetary Fund
**International Civil Aviation Organiza-
tion**
Universal Postal Union
**International Telecommunication
Union**
World Meteorological Organization
**Inter-Governmental Maritime Consul-
tative Organization**
International Trade Organization

Justice, a principal organ of the United Nations, is playing a large part in this development.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS of the United Nations in so many fields of endeavor add up to a great record of progress. We should keep in mind, however, that these "successes" do not belong to the United Nations as such, but to the member nations whose co-operation made them possible.

Likewise the so-called failures of the United Nations, which come so glibly to the tongues of its detractors, have been due, in every case, to the failure of a nation or of a group of nations to live up to the high obligations of the Charter.

When the United Nations came into existence in 1945, there was uni-

versal hope that it would usher in an era of peace. Then came the cleavage between the Soviet Union and the West, and the widening effects of the cold war. It became apparent that some nations felt no great compulsion to co-operate in the heroic endeavor, represented by the United Nations, to build peace.

The wonder is that the United Nations has succeeded so often and so dramatically and decisively in the divided and troubled world of our time.

THE CHARTER of the United Nations required the tenth General Assembly (in 1955) to consider the question of Charter review and possible revision. The General Assembly action was to authorize a Charter Review Conference to be held at a date to be fixed later by the General Assembly.

Many groups interested in the United Nations, including the United States Senate, have carried forward studies of the Charter with a view to recommending desirable changes. One of the most interesting projects of this sort was sponsored by the American Association for the United Nations, and resulted in three sets of proposals—a few changes in the Charter, a greater number of changes in the policies and practices of the Organization, and some changes in the policies and practices of our own Government (in the hope that other Governments would follow a good example). The recommended Charter changes had to do with (1) the removal of the veto in the Security Council on membership

(Continued on page 39)

United Nations Member Nations

The present membership of the United Nations and of the General Assembly (which consists of all the members of the United Nations) is 82, as follows:

Afghanistan	Ghana	Nicaragua
Albania	Greece	Norway
Argentina	Guatemala	Pakistan
Australia	Haiti	Panama
Austria	Honduras	Paraguay
Belgium	Hungary	Peru
Bolivia	Iceland	Philippines
Brazil	India	Poland
Bulgaria	Indonesia	Portugal
Burma	Iran	Romania
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Iraq	Saudi Arabia
Cambodia	Ireland	Spain
Canada	Israel	Sudan
Ceylon	Italy	Sweden
Chile	Japan	Syria*
China	Jordan	Thailand
Colombia	Laos	Tunisia
Costa Rica	Lebanon	Turkey
Cuba	Liberia	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Czechoslovakia	Libya	Union of South Africa
Denmark	Luxembourg	U.S.S.R.
Dominican Republic	Malaya	United Kingdom
Ecuador	Mexico	United States
Egypt*	Morocco	Uruguay
El Salvador	Nepal	Venezuela
Ethiopia	Netherlands	Yemen*
Finland	New Zealand	Yugoslavia
France		

** United Arab Republic*

EXILES

A Judgment Upon Our Times

THIS is the age of the Atlantic Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is also the era of the homeless man. Never before have so many persons been banished and abandoned—and this happens in a time marked by the collapse of colonialism around the world and the rise of new nations in freedom and dignity. Here is the great anomaly of our day—and a judgment upon our generation.

The story has to do with persons—one by one and family by family. It is a story of betrayal, of separation and suffering, of dehumanization and doom. Cold, impersonal figures cannot reveal the inner dimensions of the tragedy, but they can indicate something of its size and sweep. The following outline refers only to the main and most dramatic episodes of the last half century or so.

- In the decade before World War I, some 30,000 Jews, fleeing persecutions in Eastern Europe, migrated to Palestine. Others, by the thousands and tens of thousands, found refuge in Western Europe and in the Western Hemisphere.

- The Russian Revolution of 1917 produced over 1.5 million exiles who were scattered throughout Germany, France, the borderlands of the Soviet Union, and parts of the Far East.

- Armenian refugees, escaping Turkish massacres in the early 1920's, numbered 320,000. They sought haven in Syria, Iraq, Cyprus, Palestine, Greece, Bulgaria, and other European countries.

- As a consequence of Franco's victory in the Spanish struggle in the late '30's, some 500,000 Spanish loyalist refugees fled to France. Approximately half of them subsequently returned to Spain.

- Hitler's campaign against Jews, beginning as an assault on their civil rights and mounting in pace and fury to the unbelievable excesses of the concentration camps and crematoriums, produced a refugee crisis of unparalleled urgency and size. Several hundred thousand Jewish exiles, all who could escape the Nazi horrors, fled in panic to the few countries willing to receive them. In this period, in spite of handicaps and severe restrictions on immigration, nearly 150,000 Jews found refuge in Palestine.

- In the early years of World War II, an estimated 12 million people were made homeless by the advancing Nazi armies. Throughout the conquered territories, Germany brought in colonists (some 2.5 million in all) to fill the vacuum left by fleeing civilian populations. At the same time, the number of "slave" workers brought into Germany to keep her industries going reached a peak of 8 million in 1944.

- Dislocations caused by the war were even worse in Asia and the Pacific area—30 million displaced persons in China, other masses of homeless wanderers in Burma, in the Malay States, in the Philippines, in Indochina. It is estimated that about 60 million persons had been displaced from their homes in 1943 when the Axis armies achieved their greatest territorial gains.

- After the war, several million persons of German origin living in Poland, Sudetenland, and other Eastern European areas (some of whom had "colonized" in the years of Nazi expansion), were expelled

from their homes and escaped to Germany—4 million to East Germany, 9 million to the Federal Republic (West Germany) where they constitute 17 per cent of the population. Some 5 million expellees died or disappeared in the tragic ordeal.

- Other categories of refugees came into being when most of Eastern Europe slipped under Soviet domination. No fewer than 2.8 million citizens of the German Democratic People's Republic (East Germany) have sought asylum in West Germany, and the number increases every month. Some 600,000 *Volksdeutsche* whose ancestors settled the Danube basin five centuries ago have had to seek refuge in Austria; 350,000 Bulgarians of Turkish origin were forced to flee to Turkey; 400,000 Karelians have found asylum in Finland.

- The partition of India and the erection of the separate states of India and Pakistan in 1947 precipitated a refugee problem born of the fear of severe religious persecution and reprisal. Some 8.5 million Hindus and Sikhs left Pakistan for India while an estimated 6.5 million Moslems fled from India to Pakistan.

- In the long-troubled Middle East, the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 and the aborted effort of the Arab states to annihilate the new nation caused an estimated 800,000 Arabs to flee from Palestine. They sought haven in Lebanon, in Syria, in Jordan (mostly in the "bulge" west of the River Jordan which was taken over by the Arab Legion), and in the Gaza Strip (annexed by Egypt). Nearly 350,000 of

the Arab refugees continue to live in camps set up by the UN.

- At the same time more than 400,000 Jews were compelled to leave their homes in Iraq, Yemen, and the Arab states of North Africa. They have found refuge and a new life in Israel. Another 20,000 Jews have fled from Egypt as a result of the Israeli-Egyptian struggle of late 1956.

- The overcrowded British colony of Hong Kong on the south coast of China is the haven of a vast number of forlorn refugees from the Chinese People's Republic. The official tabulation is 700,000—in a total population of 2.5 million.

- As a result of the bitter Korean War in 1950 and the partition of the peninsula, there are still an estimated 3 million unsettled refugees in South Korea who fled the communist-dominated Northern republic.

- When Viet-Nam suffered civil war and was bifurcated in the interest of co-existence, 900,000 refugees fled to freedom south of the 17th parallel.

- As a result of the prolonged struggle in Algeria against French domination, some 30,000 to 50,000 refugees have fled to safety in Tunisia.

- The courageous but frustrated rebellion in Hungary in October, 1956, caused nearly 200,000 Hungarians to flee in the most dramatic refugee movement of recent years. An estimated 174,000 reached Austria while another 19,000 or so came to Yugoslavia. In less than six

months about 142,000 of these new refugees had found permanent asylum in thirty-five countries.

One hundred million persons uprooted, driven from their homes and homelands, in the last forty years—35 million refugees since the end of World War II—that is the appalling tragedy of our time.

In India, about one person in forty-two is a refugee, in Viet-Nam one in twelve, in Pakistan one in eleven, in West Germany one in six, in Korea one in three, in Hong Kong two in seven, in Jordan one in two.

What has become of the postwar refugees? A few of them, relatively very few, have been repatriated. Many have been or are being assimilated in the countries giving them asylum. A large number, an estimated 16 million persons, are still unsettled.

In the unsettled status are the 700,000 refugees in Hong Kong and the 800,000 (or fewer—the count is very uncertain) Arab refugees in the Middle East. Something over 2 million refugees in India and 3 million in Pakistan remain homeless. In Korea the number is 3 million; in Viet-Nam 200,000; in Tunisia 30,000 or more; in Europe 6 million in several categories. About 28,000 Hungarian refugees remain in temporary quarters in Austria and Yugoslavia. One of the most tragic groups of refugees is the 15,000 White Russian refugees in Red China and Hong Kong.

These 16 million exiles constitute today's living refugee problem. And who knows what catastrophe this year or next or the next will add to their number?

A SERIES of international organizations have tried to deal with the refugee problem in its various phases.

The first group of refugees to receive international attention were Russian exiles following the Soviet Revolution in 1917. The League of Nations in 1921 appointed a High Commissioner to co-ordinate measures for their assistance. The person assigned to the post was Fridtjof Nansen of Norway (renowned for his polar explorations), who served with great distinction for nearly nine years. The League allowed Nansen only a small budget for administrative purposes. Assistance and resettlement programs were meagerly financed by occasional grants from Great Britain and gifts from private sources, chiefly American. Nansen directed his attention also to the Armenian refugees and to problems of displaced persons in Bulgaria and Greece. After Nansen's death in 1930, the Office was continued under a League committee. Its prestige degenerated rapidly.

In 1933, in response to the problem of Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany, the League appointed a High Commissioner for Refugees Coming from Germany. It was stipulated, however, that funds for both administration and operation should come from private sources. The program, such as it was, really did not have League backing.

President Roosevelt of the United States, concerned about Jews fleeing from Germany because of mounting Nazi repressions, was instrumental in convening a conference of thirty-two nations in 1938. The meeting

resulted in the setting up of the *Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (IGCR)*. Its achievements were minimal.

The *United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA)* was established in 1943 to guide the huge program of emergency reconstruction and assistance in areas liberated by Allied forces. Among its main functions were the care and repatriation of people uprooted by the war. Its international staff of over 7,000, in spite of some shortcomings due to hasty recruiting practices under wartime conditions, set new standards in terms of teamwork, zeal, and dedication. UNRRA was able to bring about the repatriation of more than 8 million refugees in less than a year.

A Central Tracing Bureau was set up by UNRRA to locate persons "lost" in the refugee confusion. A great deal was done for "unaccompanied children"—mostly Jewish orphans, the "leftovers" of Nazi extermination camps. The agency was greatly handicapped by lack of sufficient funds for its gigantic task, and by its inability (for political reasons) to deal with many kinds of problems, but its achievements in a short period of time were prodigious and remarkable.

(It should be noted that UNRRA was not an agency of the international organization now known as the United Nations. Indeed, UNRRA was set up in 1943; the UN came into being in 1945.)

When the United Nations was established in 1945, the refugee problem had to do largely with the million or so nonrepatriable exiles

scattered in 920 camps across Europe. They included a great variety of persons who had fled tyranny and refused to be exposed to it again through repatriation. The refugee issue was high on the agenda of the first session of the UN General Assembly in London in January, 1946. After prolonged debate on the international character of the refugee problem (the Iron Curtain delegates insisting that refugees were traitors and that the problem was domestic in character) and related issues, the UN General Assembly approved the erection of the *International Refugee Organization* as a "specialized agency." It was not until late spring in 1947 that a sufficient number of governments had ratified the IRO charter and pledged financial support to enable the organization to begin its work.

During the five years of its life, IRO built up a staff of some 2,600 persons from 41 countries. They were aided by a secondary staff of about 3,000 persons, mostly from the refugee populations. These persons, all international civil servants, did their work with amazing zeal and devotion. In its final report in January, 1952, IRO could say that it had resettled more than a million refugees in 65 countries. This was a great achievement, and it was done in the face of continued political obstructions and in a time when new categories of refugees were being created by strife and upheaval in many parts of the world. In February, 1952, the UN General Assembly acted not to continue IRO.

Political considerations made it impossible for IRO to deal with lo-

calized refugee situations—the 15 million made homeless in the partition of India, the 800,000 Arab refugees, the millions in desperate need in Korea.

To deal with the Middle East problem, the UN General Assembly set up the *United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA)* in 1948. The agency has done wonders in providing food, medical care, and schools for the refugees from Palestine, half of whom live in scores of camps maintained by the UN in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and the Gaza region. Its work is limited to these efforts, however, because of the resistance of Israel to repatriation and the refusal of the Arab states to permit resettlement or even to cooperate in providing useful work programs. It is evident that the Palestinian refugee problem cannot be solved until there has been a permanent political settlement of the explosive Arab-Israeli dispute. The present situation is a painful and costly stalemate.

The UN General Assembly in 1951 organized the *United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA)*, which included in its operations the care and settlement of displaced persons in South Korea. The first phase of its work was of an emergency character. With the end of the Korean War in 1953, UNKRA undertook a long-range program of rehabilitation in behalf of several million homeless persons. The agency has accomplished a great deal, but much remains to be done in the wake of the bitter and destructive Korean struggle.

With the demise of IRO in sight, the UN General Assembly established the *Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees* in early 1951. He was authorized to deal with only limited categories of refugees, and then only in the role of mediator whose good offices are available to both refugees and Governments. He was permitted to appeal to Governments for emergency funds to meet specific situations, when authorized to do so by the UN General Assembly. In 1954, however, the General Assembly approved the setting up of a *UN Refugee Emergency Fund (UNREF)* to which contributions are made by Governments. UNREF is supervised by an Executive Committee and administered through the Office of the High Commissioner. Generally, in the area of direct services to refugees under his mandate, the High Commissioner has had to count on the co-operation and resources of voluntary agencies.

Among non-UN refugee agencies, two should be mentioned. One is the *Inter-Governmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM)*, set up in 1951 at the instigation of the United States to alleviate overcrowding in certain European countries by transporting migrants to overseas areas in need of larger populations. In co-operation with the High Commissioner's Office and voluntary agencies, ICEM has moved more than 200,000 refugees. The other non-UN program of note is the *United States Escapee Program*, established in 1952 to assist persons escaping from behind the Iron Curtain. More than 82,000 have been

helped; some 50,000 have been resettled.

Much more could be said of refugee resettlement programs in particular countries—in Germany, for example, in India, in Pakistan, in Holland, in Greece, in Finland, and elsewhere.

A FACTOR of paramount importance in service to refugees is the great work of the voluntary agencies. There are at present 35 groups belonging to the Standing Conference of Voluntary Agencies Working for Refugees.

Some of these groups were set up to help refugees of particular nationalities. The most important ones are well-established religious or humanitarian organizations which have recognized the needs of refugees. Intergovernmental agencies have come and gone, governmental programs rise and fall, but the voluntary groups are constant and persistent in their devotion to the refugee cause.

Usually, the voluntary groups serve as the operating agents of intergovernmental and governmental refugee programs. They perform a wide variety of services. It is estimated that these agencies spend some \$200 million a year on refugee projects. Some of this money comes from contracts with governmental and international organizations. Most of the funds, however, are provided by their own constituencies—concerned men and women, private citizens, in many countries.

The most important American interchurch agency working in be-

half of refugees is *Church World Service (CWS)*, a unit of the National Council of Churches.

Co-operating with cognate units in several denominations (not including Lutheran, Catholic, and Jewish bodies, which developed their own programs), Church World Service has been instrumental in bringing into the United States more than 100,000 refugees.

During the operation of the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, when 393,452 refugees were brought to the United States, CWS assisted in the resettlement of nearly 60,000 persons. Under the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, CWS handled about 14,000 cases involving 30,024 persons. Some 1,500 other persons in the same period were brought in under regular immigration quotas. More than 6,700 Hungarian refugees were resettled in this country by CWS after the suppression of the rebellion in Hungary in October, 1956.

The able staff of CWS faced great frustration under the limitations of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953. Months were wasted in clarifying the meaning of the Act and in overcoming delays and obstacles in the Government's implementation of the program. Nearly 35,000 "assurances" were secured from persons and churches for the resettlement of refugee families, although only 14,000 family units were actually brought to this country before the Act expired.

During the period of the operation of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 and of the Hungarian emergency program, CWS expended a little more than \$1.5 million. We can as-

sume that similar amounts were spent by the co-operating denominations and by the World Council of Churches in overseas processing of refugees assigned to CWS. In addition, about \$2.5 million was advanced to refugees for transportation. The operating budget of CWS is provided, of course, by grants from co-operating church bodies.

Among the important denominational agencies working in the interest of refugees are the *World Service Committee* of the United Presbyterian Church of N.A. and the *Committee on Resettlement Services* of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A.

These committees assisted in the resettlement of nearly 13,000 refugees from 1949 to mid-1957. This number includes nearly 6,500 persons under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, 4,500 under the Refugee Resettlement Act of 1953, and at least 2,200 under the Hungarian program.

In addition, Presbyterian churches participated extensively in refugee resettlement programs of local and state councils of churches.

Presbyterian churches in 43 states sponsored refugee families. Surveys show that 97 per cent of the church-sponsored refugee projects were "overwhelmingly successful."

A GREAT DIFFICULTY encountered by American groups seeking to assist refugees is the hurdle of our discriminatory immigration laws.

The General Assembly of the National Council of Churches a few months ago declared:

"Since the manifold problem of ministering to refugees is so integrally related to our basic Immigration Law, the General Assembly of the National Council of Churches calls to the attention of all its member churches the importance of amending the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 to eliminate discrimination based on race, color, and sex, to revise the national origin quota system, and to provide more adequately for the admission of relatives and of refugees, as well as of other immigrants who qualify for admission to the United States.

"The National Council of Churches urges its member churches to make this problem one of special study and prayer, and to support Congressional action to improve our Immigration Law to the end that its provisions may be more in accord with principles which we as Christians can fully support and its procedures may testify more favorably to our nation's character and its sense of world responsibility."

We believe that our immigration regulations should be altered by

Congressional measures so as to provide (1) a complete revision of the national-origin quota system, with much greater flexibility in application of the quotas (for example, unused quotas in one category should be transferable to other categories) and with the elimination of unjust discriminatory features; and (2) new authorization to meet refugee, emergency situations. A revision of immigration legislation would work in the national interest and could be heralded as an important contribution to better international relations.

Several bills now before Congress embody generally useful amendments to the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952. They incorporate many of the recommendations of the President, who in early 1957 called upon Congress to take constructive action on this issue.

High over tiny Bedloe's Island in New York Harbor shines the beacon of Liberty's statue, the grand symbol of America's finest tradition.

*"Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning
to breathe free. . . .
Send these, the homeless,
tempest-tost to me."*



DISARMAMENT

Alternative to Doom

IN DISCUSSING disarmament we are really talking about the survival of our civilization.

John Foster Dulles, United States Secretary of State, has said that in his considered view disarmament is the most difficult and the most compelling of all world problems.

For a dozen years the issue has been debated within the framework of the United Nations under Articles 11 and 26 of the Charter, which empower both the Security Council and the General Assembly to make recommendations on arms regulation and limitation to member nations.

In these years of disarmament discussions there have been a series of dramatic developments—each adding to the urgency of the question.

In 1945, the United States alone had the ability to produce an atomic bomb. Then the Soviet Union, and later Great Britain, made and tested nuclear weapons. In a short time the United States had developed the hydrogen bomb, vastly more destructive than the original atomic fission device, and again the Soviet Union followed suit, and Great Britain too. In the meantime both sides were

making and stock-piling atomic weapons of various sorts and sizes. And the nations rapidly devised new and improved delivery systems—faster and higher rocket-driven bombers, atomic submarines, worldwide systems of bases, and now controlled ballistic missiles with atomic war heads, both intermediate range devices and intercontinental engines of doom that speed through space toward distant targets at 18,000 miles an hour.

BEFORE 1951, two United Nations commissions were working on disarmament—the Atomic Energy Commission set up in 1946, and the Commission for Conventional Armaments established in 1947.

Very little progress was made by the two groups. In 1952, the UN General Assembly established a Disarmament Commission to take over their functions. The new group consisted of all the members of the Security Council (together with Canada when that nation was not sitting on the Security Council).

A deadlock again arose in the dis-

armament talks. The General Assembly in November, 1953, suggested that the Commission consider setting up a subcommittee of the powers chiefly involved to seek in private conversations to resolve the differences between the West and the Soviet Union. Such a subcommittee was designated in 1954, consisting of Canada, France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States. The group has met every year—sometimes in London, sometimes in New York.

In the 1957 session of the UN General Assembly, the size of the Disarmament Commission was increased to twenty-five nations—the eleven Security Council members and fourteen new members. The U.S.S.R. had proposed an increase to the unworkable size of eighty-two and was disappointed when the proposal was rejected. The U.S.S.R. has chosen to boycott the new commission, with the result that its work is completely stymied.



SO MUCH for the framework of the disarmament talks. As for the negotiations themselves, they may be broadly described as falling into four general periods.

The first period, from 1946 to 1948, was characterized by the development of the UN Majority Plan. This plan was based on propositions put forward by the United States which have come to be known as the Baruch Plan. We should remember that the United States took this initiative when it alone was able to produce atomic weapons.

The Baruch Plan called for the erection of an international author-

ity that would own or manage the use of all fissionable materials capable of being turned into weapons. The authority would license and supervise the use of nuclear materials in power reactors and other peaceful devices. Enforcement would rest in the Security Council operating without the veto.

The first report of the Atomic Energy Commission, incorporating the main features of the Baruch Plan, was met by a Soviet veto. Further recommendations in 1947 and 1948, embodying modifications and improvements of the plan, were likewise rejected by the Soviet representative. The U.S.S.R., in the meantime, kept calling for a treaty outlawing the production and use of atomic weapons.

The second period of disarmament negotiations extended through a five-year period—1948 to 1953. It was a time of frustrating deadlock which reached a low ebb with the communist aggression in Korea in 1950. In this period the Soviet Union developed its own atomic weapon, President Truman announcing evidence of test exploding of nuclear bombs in the U.S.S.R. in September, 1949.

The third period, from 1953 to 1955, was characterized by three developments: (1) the death of Stalin, bringing changes in the political climate conducive to new efforts in the disarmament conversations; (2) the "atoms-for-peace" speech by President Eisenhower before the UN General Assembly on December 8, 1953; and (3) the basically new approach introduced by the United States during the Geneva "Heads of Government" meeting in 1955.

It seems now that prior to the Geneva proposals, the United States had tried to achieve too much in the disarmament negotiations. Our suggestions were too comprehensive, covering every aspect of the problem. At the same time we would not offer or accept any agreement that did not include the guarantee of adequate inspection. When we made our comprehensive proposals we were at the same time insisting on the unrestricted right of investigation. In this, Russia was much more sensitive than America, and felt that it had much more to lose. It was against the U.S.S.R.'s traditional policy to expose the workings of its empire to public view. On the other hand, Russia had intimate knowledge of all major developments—military and otherwise—in the democratic nations.

The "new approach" instituted by President Eisenhower in the Geneva conference was essentially a "one step at a time" plan. It was thought that an effort to achieve agreement on some limited aspect of disarmament with limited inspection offered greater possibility of breaking the long-standing deadlock. One of the dramatic proposals put forward by the United States was the "open skies" plan for mutual reconnaissance coupled with the exchange of military information as a means of relaxing tension and lessening the danger of surprise attacks.

In the fourth period of disarmament discussion, from 1955 to early 1958, the Western nations have pressed for some kind of agreement on one or another partial aspect of the problem. The United States named Harold Stassen as a special

assistant to the President on disarmament matters, providing co-ordination at the Cabinet level. The move dramatized the importance we gave to the issue. In this period Russia demonstrated its great technical development by successfully testing long-range missiles and, in the fall of 1957, by hurling two satellites into space, using launching devices of fantastic power. The disarmament deadlock persisted, however, and early in 1958 the post of special disarmament assistant to the President was abolished.

The discussions seem now to be entering a fifth period—marked by Russia's surprise announcement that it was provisionally halting the further testing of nuclear weapons. At the same time Russia protested what it regarded as threatening defense maneuvers by United States forces based in the arctic regions. The West's suggestion, strongly supported by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, that the arctic area be opened to mutual inspection, was summarily rejected by the U.S.S.R. However, in a recent note to President Eisenhower the Soviet Premier seems to open the door to the discussion of "mutual inspection" with the banning of nuclear weapons.

A GREAT many people in our country and elsewhere deeply feel that nuclear tests should be abandoned. They are fearful, for one thing, of the grave danger to the human race, particularly to future generations, of the rising accumulation in the atmosphere of radioactive by-products from the detonation of thermonuclear weapons. They are also afraid

that if and when other nations, possibly several other nations, develop the ability to make atomic weapons, it will be vastly more difficult, if possible at all, to bring their production and testing under control. They insist that testing has proceeded so far already as to represent a real and present danger to mankind, and that failure to halt the dirty business now could mean the doom of civilization.

The people of Japan have been particularly anxious about nuclear tests in the Pacific area. They have already experienced the effects of excessive fall-out following H-bomb explosions. We can be sure that the protest against American and British tests in the Pacific are not entirely or even mainly inspired by communists. Protests are also being directed toward nuclear tests in Siberia. Responsible Christian leaders throughout Japan are virtually unanimous in pleading that all tests be halted.

In this country and elsewhere in the West the number seems daily to increase of those who would have the United States take the bold step of immediately abandoning further testing. There are also strong and responsible voices on the other side, insisting that the balance of power ("balance of terror," according to Churchill) is such as to require a continuation, for a brief period at least, of United States tests.

The debate is on, and will go on, as to the danger that now exists from radioactive by-products already released by thermonuclear explosions. The experts are agreed as to the facts; they disagree as to their implications.

It appears that (1) the level of radioactive contamination has al-

ready increased severalfold; (2) the level is still far below what is generally agreed is the danger area; (3) even so, the present level is bound to be dangerous for a few persons; and (4) some persons, in reality very few, are suffering and dying from radiation-related disorders because of the increase of radioactive waste in the atmosphere.

All this gives some point to the argument of the United States that our present goal in nuclear weapon development and testing is the creation of a bomb that will have virtually no "strontium 90" fall-out. Our military leaders insist that small, "clean" atomic weapons are needed in the event of "little" wars.

Someone has suggested that the only truly "clean" bomb would be one big enough to be the "ultimate detergent."

●

IN THE summer of 1957, the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs (CCIA), the "foreign affairs" arm of the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council, issued a thoughtful and realistic statement on atomic tests and disarmament. The statement suggested some related goals:

1. Stopping, by international agreement, the testing of nuclear weapons.

"It is important that compliance with agreements to stop testing nuclear weapons be verified internationally."

2. Bringing to a halt the production of nuclear weapons, under such control as will most fully insure compliance.

"Stopping the production of

nuclear weapons is more fundamental than stopping nuclear tests."

3. Developing measures that will reduce national armaments, with provisions for necessary safeguards as such measures are progressively taken.

"The whole range of the disarmament problem, including provisions for warning against surprise attack, must be dealt with as may be appropriate and practicable: conventional armaments,

guided missiles, biological and chemical warfare, as well as nuclear weapons."

4. Accelerating international cooperation in the development of atomic power for peaceful purposes, under proper safeguards.

"Both the hazards of diversion of fissionable materials to military purposes and of waste disposal need to be considered in relation to a broader system of atomic control and general disarmament."

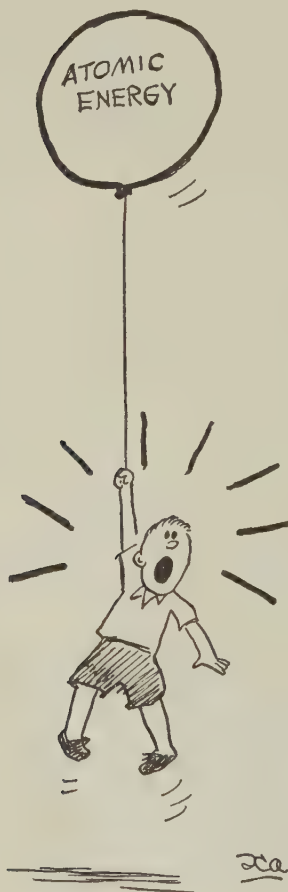
5. Establishing more effective mechanisms for peaceful settlement of international disputes and for peaceful changes.

"Ultimately true peace rests upon the continuing adjusting of conflicting interests and claims. To this end, international instruments must be strengthened and established, and must be related to the requirements of an international security system."

The CCIA statement concluded with these paragraphs:

"It is important to stress all of the objectives in their interrelationship. Yet simultaneous progress toward all of them seems improbable, until there is a much greater degree of international confidence. Is it safe to advance toward one or more without the others? Choices will have to be made, and they are hard choices. Any decision involves risk. But to make no decision may be even more dangerous.

"Each proposed partial agreement, such as cessation of testing needs to be considered on its own merits. But it also should be appraised by the extent to which it



advances or retards the attainment of related objectives. Again, each proposal should be judged in terms of its potential contribution to mutual confidence. . . .

"Easy solutions cannot be expected for the problems which plague man in an atomic age, both because the problems themselves are complex and man himself is sinful. God stands in judgment over all the nations of the world, and it is not for man to presume to identify his cause with the fullness of God's purposes. For it is man's disobedience which is the basic cause of his despair and frustration. Christians, who share with all men in the guilt of the world, have nevertheless a hope which transcends the failures and successes of history, and a faith which overcomes fear.

"If persistent efforts bring no sufficient agreement on any of the interrelated objectives, Christians can oppose counsels of despair and still strive to establish true conditions of peace. Moreover, there is a risk for the sake of peace which Christians, especially in countries projecting tests of nuclear weapons, are justified in advocating, in the hope of breaking through the barriers of distrust. They can urge their Governments to declare their resolve to forgo tests for a trial period, in the hope that others will do the same, a new confidence be born, and foundations laid for reliable agreements."

●

THE disarmament story is incomplete without a word about the peace-

ful uses of atomic energy and the work of the UN in this field.

There are virtually unlimited potentials for blessing in man's discovery of the secret of atomic energy. The possibilities, as they appear now, are of two general kinds.

One is the potential of atomic energy as a source of electrical power. In a single pound of fission material there is the now available energy equivalent of nearly 3 million pounds (1,500 tons) of the earth's best coal. The United States and several other countries have built reactors which release this energy under controlled conditions and harness it to electrical generators.

The cost of releasing and using atomic energy is still very high, although economic atomic power plants are now operating in Great Britain, in the United States, and possibly in Russia. Scientists foresee the day when atomic energy will be produced so cheaply as to supplement, and ultimately replace, oil and coal as the main source of electrical power. The change-over will occur first, of course, in those parts of the world where coal and oil costs are high. And undoubtedly many regions of the earth now devoid of both power and people (the Sahara Desert?) will one day be transformed by the miracle of nuclear energy.

The other chief use of atomic energy is in the making of radioactive isotopes. Called radioisotopes, these are substances made radioactive artificially by being placed in atomic reactors. They have the unique property of being detectable by means of a Geiger counter in quantities (don't

breathe) of a billionth of a billionth of a gram. By introducing small amounts of this substance into plants or into the bodies of animals or human beings, it is possible to study complex functions and processes of growth. Radioisotopes are being used in new and truly fantastic ways in industry. In agriculture, isotopes have been useful in increasing yields and in developing improved varieties of crops. A lawn grass has been developed, for example, which grows to a height of two inches and that's all. Radioactive substances have been particularly beneficial in the field of health.

The International Atomic Energy Agency came into existence in the summer of 1957. Its statute had been approved in 1956 at an international conference held at UN Headquarters in New York and came into force when ratified by at least eighteen states (including at least three of the big five in atomic matters—Canada, France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States). The agency is tied to the UN General Assembly.

Its purpose is "to accelerate and enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health, and prosperity throughout the world," and

"to ensure that assistance provided by it or at its request or under its supervision or control is not used in such a way as to further any military purpose."

The agency is authorized to encourage the following activities:

- research on the peaceful uses of atomic energy;
 - exchange of information on peaceful uses of atomic energy;
 - exchange and training of scientists and experts;
 - holding of international meetings.
-

WE BELIEVE that the development of nuclear energy is a revelation both of God's judgment and of God's mercy.

In the infinite possibilities of atomic power dedicated to the well-being of all men we recognize the sure leading of God, whose mercy reaches man's every need.

But if men should fail, by their idolatry of national power and narrow self-interest, to develop the instruments of co-operation and peaceful change, atomic judgment will rain from the skies.

In this atomic age, disarmament is the only alternative to doom.

OUR BEST HOPE FOR PEACE

(Continued from page 22)

applications, by making this a procedural matter, (2) a realistic enlargement of the Security Council with better geographical representation and the gradual restriction of the veto power, and (3) development of the power of the United Nations to institute sanctions against internationally illegal behavior.

Although the Charter of the United Nations was designed for an age that is rapidly passing away, it has proved to be a remarkable instrument—rigid enough to withstand the shock of unexpected crises, yet flexible enough to accommodate itself to changing circumstances. The wording of the Charter has not changed since it was written in 1945, but by the process of reinterpretation the Charter in its application has been changed in many important respects. We can expect the Charter to permit of continued adaptation to new needs in our time without radical revision.

Indeed, it should be clear to all that any earnest attempt now to revise the Charter in any drastic way would run the grave risk of smashing the United Nations, or splitting it into two parts, one oriented to the communist bloc and one oriented to the West, each claiming to be the true continuation of the original

United Nations Organization.

Our churches need to be warned against the too easy assumption that the United Nations can be changed overnight into a world federation, however attractive and desirable that change may be. Against the hard realities of international life in our time, an assumption of that sort is irresponsible and dangerous.

EVEN more important, however, is the ever-needed warning against malicious and misleading attacks on the United Nations and all it represents and seeks to do. Most of the attacks come from small "hate" groups with records of extreme chauvinism, isolationism, and even "racism." Sometimes an otherwise alert and responsible organization becomes irresponsible and dangerously un-American (by the measure of national interest and responsibility) by engaging in baseless criticisms and wild denunciations of the United Nations.

Our hats are off to a certain Presbyterian minister's wife who waged a fight (in this case, a losing fight) against an anti-United Nations resolution in a recent national convention of a respectable and venerable patriotic organization.

The cartoons on pages 7, 21, and 36 are drawn by Rev. Thomas C. (Tom) Arthur, minister of the First Presbyterian Church, Greenfield, Indiana.

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